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WAR & PEACE

New world climate strains Western alliance, but U.S. refuses to shift policies

By Tabitha Petran

ON THE POST-GENEVA PLATEAU of relatively relaxed world tensions, the Western alliance was bedeviled by stresses and strains. They were caused by what UN Secy. General Dag Hammarskjold called, in his annual report, "the great upheaval in the relationship of nations and peoples that is under way."

In this changing world atmosphere, Washington was obviously trying to clothe its policies in more appealing fashion. But there was no evidence that it had modified them in any significant way.

At this month's disarmament talks Washington made known its decision to scrap all pre-Geneva agreements aimed at arms reduction and eliminating nuclear weapons, and openly abandoned these goals. The **Christian Science Monitor** (9/7), said this represented "a calculated diplomatic risk of unprecedented proportions." The risk was that world opinion would brand the U.S. as "the saboteur of nuclear disarmament."

BEHIND THE DIPLOMACY: Washington's move was a blow at the worldwide movement to ban nuclear weapons (more than a quarter of the world's people reportedly have signed the Appeal) and a blow at Geneva. (There, Soviet Prime Minister Bulganin had proposed a joint declaration embodying the considerable agreements already reached on disarmament and a pledge not to use nuclear weapons pending their complete prohibition.) But the U.S. decision bore out a longstanding Soviet charge: that Western preoccupation with inspection and control in the long years of disarmament talks was simply an effort to avoid disarmament. The **CSM** said (9/7):

> "Privately, many western diplomats have acknowledged this was the case."

THE POLISH BID: Washington revealed its mood plainly in its campaign against Poland's bid for a seat on the UN Security Council. According to a "gentleman's agreement," made in UN's early days, the six non-permanent Council members (three are elected each year by the Assembly for a two-year term) were to be chosen on a geographical basis, with E. Europe assured one seat. The West has repeatedly violated this agreement by such maneuvers as, for example, putting up Turkey to represent, in turn, the Middle East, Asia and E. Europe. The U.S.

(Continued on Page 9)

Hey, Estes, the Russians don't vote in American elections

This is open tourist season in Moscow, and among the 28 U.S. Senators and Congressmen there is Sen. Estes Kefauver (D.-Tenn.), a Presidential hopeful. Above he is shown—in what looks like a campaign picture—holding a Russian child who is inspecting the generous pate of British Conservative M. P. Cyril Osborne. For a report on the '56 political scene, see p. 3.

THE DAY EMMETT TILL CAME HOME

Thousands mourn lynched boy in Chicago

By Eugene Gordon

EMMETT LOUIS TILL, 14, returned Sept. 2 to Chicago from a two-week Mississippi vacation with his sharecropper uncle, Moses Wright. He was home—in a pine-board box.

His mother, Mrs. Mamie Bradley, was a strong, healthy woman of 33 when Emmett went South. When she came to Illinois Central Station to meet her son she was in a wheel-chair and she wept:

> "Oh God! Oh God! My only boy!"

Five men lifted the long bundle, wrapped in paper, from the brown box and carried it to a waiting hearse. Bishop Louis Ford, of the St. Paul Church of God in Christ, and the Rev. Isiah Roberts, of the Temple Church of God in Christ, slowly rolled Mrs. Bradley's wheelchair. Surrounding relatives comforted her. She prayed:

> "Lord, you gave your only Son to remedy a condition. Let the death of my son bring an end to lynching!"

A BOY WHISTLED: As other Negro mothers in the North had cautioned their children, Mrs. Bradley had told Emmett:

> "Behave yourself . . . watch what you say and how you say it. . . . Stay out of trouble even if you have to get down on your knees and bow when white people pass."

Some stories said several teen-age Negro boys had stopped at Roy Bryant's general store in Money, Miss., on Saturday evening, Aug. 27, to buy chewing gum. Emmett had wolf-whistled at Bryant's "beautiful" wife, one story said. Another story said he had whistled "admiringly" when they got outside. Still another had it that Emmett suffered a speech defect from childhood polio and made a whistling noise when he spoke.

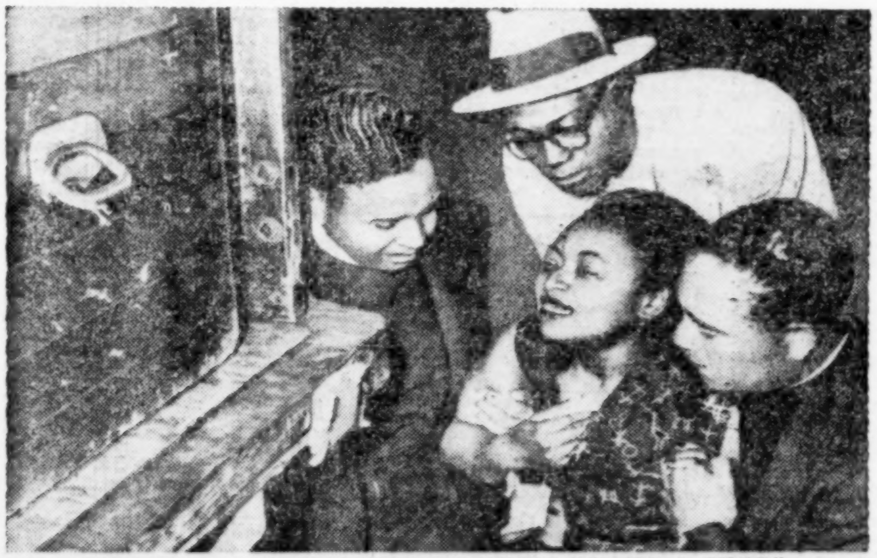
All stories tallied on one point: 24-year-old Bryant and his 35-year-old half-brother, J. W. Milam, dragged Emmett from bed in his uncle's cabin shortly after Sunday midnight, Aug. 29, booted him out to a car where a woman said, "He's the one," and rode away with him.

LET THE PEOPLE SEE: The crowd at the station in Chicago knew Emmett was found three days later in the Tallahatchie River, body mutilated, face stove in, teeth knocked out, barbed wire twisted around his waist and tied to a 150-pound cotton-gin pulley. They followed the hearse to Rayner's Funeral Home, 4141 Cottage Grove; formed a column from the door to the end of the block.

The undertaker said it would be unwise to open the casket. Embalming the body, he had been unable to build up parts of the face to resemble a human countenance. Some people wouldn't be able to stand the sight of it. The mother ordered:

> "Open the casket! Open it! Let the people see what lynchers did to a child! I want the people to see what

(Continued on Page 4)



"LET THE PEOPLE SEE WHAT LYNCHERS DID TO A CHILD"

Emmett Till's mother is overcome as she sees his casket

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WE HAVE JUST BEGUN TO FIGHT

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THE MAIL BAG

Not dead yet

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am thankful that for so many years we have had the devoted services of this idealistic gentleman, Cedric Belfrage, in our country. I hope that he may return to us and he will, once the people of America again rule, instead of the money-mad industrialists. May the avenues of publicity be freely open to him in England that he may acquaint Englishmen of the plight of democracy in the United States!

To lie, to bear false witness,
Lines the pocketbook with gold.
To steal the public funds,
To mask tyranny as democracy,
Officialdom works hand in glove,
Its law and graft enforcing.

Put on the mourning robes,
Toll the funeral bells,
Issue forth the proclamation,
Democracy lies dying.

W. P. C.

Slipping power

WESTFIELD, N. Y.

I am sorry to know that Cedric Belfrage had to go into exile, but these things always happen when "economic royalty" anticipates its power is liable to slip or is slipping from them to another group.

It is bad for us, but to the extent that it is bad for us, it may be good for Belfrage. He can write as he likes and think as he likes. But we are going to miss him.

W. S. Bennett

"Thou sayest"

MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

Look at your first "Fifth Amendment Communist," Joe, and your Pontius Pilates masquerading as investigating committees. Isn't Jesus in effect saying, "I stand upon my constitutional rights. You are making the charge. You prove your case?"

"And Jesus stood before the governor: and the governor asked him, saying, 'Art thou the King of the Jews?' And Jesus said unto him, 'Thou sayest.'"—Matthew 27:11.

L. Haber

Guatemalan patriots

CHICAGO, ILL.

I have sent a letter to the Guatemalan Ambassador, Washington, D.C It would be wonderful if thousands of such letters poured into the Embassy protesting the execution of the Guatemalan patriots The letter follows:

"We have been reading much about Guatamala in our newspapers of late. The reports are neither flattering to Castillo nor the manner in which he is "democratizing" Guatemala. For this reason, I am very concerned about the physical well-being of Alvarado Monzon, Barrics Klee and other political prisoners.

"When Castillo Armas ousted Arbenz, the pretext was to restore a democratic form of government to Guatemala. His actions, since taking office, have proved anything but democratic. Whereas President Arbenz had sought to eradicate illiteracy, to grant land to those who had never possessed even a tiny plot of land despite their most conscientious efforts, President Castillo has relied solely upon force, terror, torture and execution of political prisoners.

"President Castillo's elaborate attempt to depict himself as the "savior" of Guatemala has deceived few Americans. We are NOT ignorant of the events transpiring in your country and it nauseates us that such a country should attempt to wrap itself in a mantle of democracy.

"We call upon you to relay to your country our concern for the welfare of all your political prisoners. We are aware that the executions are aimed at decimating the leadership of the people so that there will be less opposition to your contemplated eviction of 60,000 farmers from their land beginning in January. The political prisoners are the true patriots of Guatemala. It is only they who are concerned with the terrible plight of the farmers who are dying by the thousands because of the corn famine. It is only they who worry about the thousands of people roaming the streets with nowhere to go. Were Castillo as concerned with the welfare of the Guatemalans as he professed when he sought to oust President Arbenz, there would be no necessity of any illegal parties in Guatemala."

(Mrs.) Nellie De Schaaf

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Dr. Robert E. Lane, political scientist at Yale University, reporting to a symposium conducted by the American Psychological Assn. on personality traits:

". . . an unsatisfactory private life is a necessary basis for intense political interests. . . . Somehow, the individual must be made to feel inferior, dependent, excluded, unloved before political matters take on the psychic importance which characterizes any extreme partisan or intense believer in this area. Put differently, one might say that political partisanship is an expression of unhappiness."

—N. Y. Times, Sept. 3, 1955.

One year free sub to winner of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Mrs. P. Keeney, New York.

Housecleaning

SANTA MONICA, CALIF.

The country's sick
Of slippery Dick,
Brownell and Dulles too;
We cooled off Joe
So now let's throw
Out all that nauseous crew.

A. H. Reed

Real cause of war

CLIFTON, N. J.

As a note to your readers, I would like to refer them to a book by Pierre van Paassen entitled Days of Our Years, particularly chapter two, which deals with the First World War. Van Paassen rips aside the false curtain of "patriotism" and reveals, I think, the real cause of that war, and others, by analogy and no doubt the cause of the present agitation for "preventive war" by the knuckle-headed lunatics.

Charles R. Checkley

One for all

STOCKTON, CALIF.

Dr. Wiley L. Overholster, Winamac, Ind., has hit on a very practical plan, I think, for getting all reform groups working together in one co-operative political organization. I suggest that each subscriber write him at the above address for his leaflet and booklet regarding his proposed plan.

H. H. Dunnihoo

Enough to build

SEATTLE, WASH.

The difference between socialists and other people is that socialists look a little more closely at the facts and find the causes of society's evils. When the causes of these evils are brought in some spectacular way to the minds of other people, some of them wake up. Surely there are enough well qualified men and women of good will to make our economic system function for all people, and build a party dedicated to that task as well as fulfilling our commitments abroad that are constructive and democratic.

Ernestine Adams

Boll Benson

COLONY, OKLA.

I will soon be 90 years old. I am older than E. B. Knapp and I am older than the lady whose maiden name was Smith. So I am going to raise their antes a little. Enclosed is $15.

I will come again this fall if Benson, dry weather and the boll weevil don't reduce my means below the subsistence level.

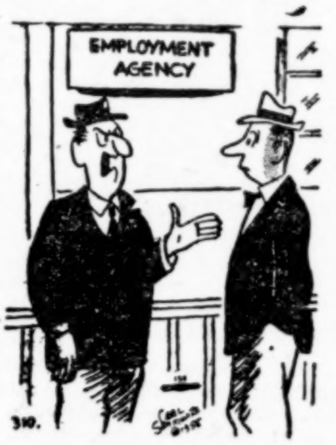
J. D. V. McWilliams

From a victim

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

When your thoughts are just like mine,
And your civil rights decline,
When the liars lie for pay,
And the blacklist rules the day,
Fight the witch-hunt hand in hand,
Speed the courage through the land;
"Courage" sounds the victory cry
Lifts the Bill of Rights on high.

Vee Emmess



Labor's Daily, Charleston, W. Va.

"The salary? I could make more not working!"

. . . ask for it

RICHMOND, CALIF.

It should be called to the attention of all GUARDIAN readers that books of a progressive nature, honest and outstanding books not generally available in many public libraries, can be placed there by people requesting these books of librarians. I recently asked for (and made a written request for) The Neurotic, by Dr. Joseph Furst. The local library did not have a copy and secured one immediately for me from the State Library at Sacramento. However the book is so excellent and crammed full of deep, honest and stimulating thought that you just can't get all you should out of it in two weeks. So when I asked for it again they purchased a copy from the publishers, Citadel.

Librarians as a rule are honest, forward-looking individuals of a non-bigoted and democratic turn of mind and are anxious to get books the people really want. But how else will they know unless the people request these books?

Marian Henderson

Wickedness

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Mankind has reached a stage of scientific, mechanical and technological advance that makes possible abundance of food, health, shelter, clothing and comforts of many kinds for all human beings. But, owing to the apparently limitless folly of man, social and political sciences are allowed to trail far behind with consequences detrimental to the higher moral, intellectual and spiritual interests of the race.

Sad but true, the sly human race still finds all kinds of excuses for getting around the basic moral laws. Hatred of peoples, of classes, of groups and individuals are being fomented with hardly a ripple of moral indignation from majorities of citizens. Here in the U.S. a nine-year-old siege of civil liberties and independent thinking is maintained by governmental bodies while a sensationally chauvinistic press wickedly inflames hostility toward other nations.

President Roosevelt said: "Today we are faced with the pre-eminent fact that if civilization is to survive we must cultivate the science of human relationships, the ability of all kinds to live together and work together in the same world at peace."

This, and not the launching of satellites or the promised flight into outer space, is urgently needed to be learned and practiced without further delay.

A. Garcia Diaz

Teachers will help

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Mike Quill is right in maintaining that the union of AFL and the CIO will bring little advantage to the workers till they have a party of their own, independent of both Democrats and Republicans. Perhaps Quill is not the right man to head the new party, but his idea is correct. The writer, for many years a teacher of languages and athletics in private schools, feels sure that many teachers realize that the leadership in the new party must be taken by organized labor. Also, many workers realize that a university training makes teachers valuable advisers to labor leadership. The combination would be unbeatable. That sort of combination is what reactionaries fear.

Eric A. Starbuck

Thanks

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Just a word to compliment you on the tremendous job you are doing under extremely adverse circumstances.

E. H. Cogill

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"It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness."—CHINESE PROVERB.

REPORT TO READERS

Indian summer--and us

YOUR ROVING REPORTER went to an Indian summer GUARDIAN Party last weekend on the shores of Lake Cazenovia in middle New York State and begs to report that a very good time was had by all and a good round sum contributed to the GUARDIAN's ever-needful sustaining fund.

A whipping breeze turned the lakefront into ocean surf but failed to turn back the usual complement of intrepid fishermen. Otherwise it provided a welcome relief from the summer-long heat wave. Cazenovia is only a whoop and a holler from Syracuse so most of the guests were from thereabouts. But some came from Utica and Rome, and a couple more from Ithaca so that all together there were well over 50 of us.

We ate indoors at dusk, in the sprawling, picture-windowed living room of sisters Elizabeth Allen and Jane Anderson on the lake front, and the food alone was worth the long jaunt from New York City—ham, meat loaf, tongue; pots of home-cooked beans; plenty of vine-ripened tomatoes, leaf lettuce, fresh green peppers; and somebody's secret-recipe tomato relish that beat Heinz's 57 ways.

Talk was free-hand—about Geneva and third party, whether or no, and the good work of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. A handsome young couple cleared the floor for a program of breath-taking folk dances and somewhere about 9:30 the children were collected and departures started, depending on how far people had to drive.

WE ARE EVER SO GRATEFUL to our upstate friends—and to friends everywhere who have been holding open house for the GUARDIAN these summer and Indian summer weekends. If you haven't had one yet, or been to one, there is a good month ahead of golden September and October's bright blue weather—and the GUARDIAN can use the boost. We'd like to be invited to each and every one to share the good times, good food and good conversation. But even seven-league boots won't permit that.

For instance, it would have been something pretty special to get to the Seattle salmon-bake last month; and the Hootenanny Party at Madison (Wis.) last fortnight.

AND OUR EARS are still burning over the fine, warming phrases aimed our way from Spokane, in response to toastmaster Tom Howard at the Free Press Discussion Club dinner Aug. 28. One friend spoke of "the eminent and scholarly leadership of Cedric Belfrage" and another said (looking toward the officialdom which forced Belfrage's exile):

"You cannot destroy the spirit that prevails here tonight. Neither will the GUARDIAN be destroyed. For the spirit shown here is the spirit that has been the impelling force for the guidance of man from the jungle."

And in conclusion:

"Long live the GUARDIAN and forever live the principles for which it stands."

We have no fears for the eternal life of high principle; we sometimes have tremors, though, about the devoutly-desired long life of the GUARDIAN.

That's why we urge YOU to use one of these fine Indian summer weekends to fire up the barbecue pit, get the gang together and pass a good big Stetson for the benefit of yours truly.

—THE GUARDIAN

CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES FROM LONDON

What the Rosenberg case means to the world

LONDON

IN OUR TIME of massive artificially-created confusion as to loyalties and the nature of good and evil, the power of heroic personal example is still world-wide and immortal. This is the element to which the machine of constituted authority is by its very nature blind when it sets the gallows stage for a martyr's heroism. After the axe has fallen, seemingly writing a simple Finis to some troublesome human life, to strike fear into the people, it is the element that multiplies the victim day by day, year by year, into an apparition far bigger and more troublesome than he could ever have been had he been allowed to live.

Such today is the still-expanding power, inexorably haunting Washington and all repressive administrations, of martyred Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. What was done to them remains, for countless millions all over the world, the transcendent symbol of the evil to be overcome in our era. The agony and death of Ethel and Julius dramatized, and continue to dramatize and illuminate, the affliction of every political prisoner on earth as perhaps nothing less could have done.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS: Talking with recent travelers in Western Europe, one can piece together a little of this world-wide pattern—less now with shame because the Rosenbergs' murderers were Americans than with pride because the Rosenbergs were and are Americans. To make and keep the millions who honor the Rosenbergs aware that the case itself is unfinished business while Morton Sobell remains in Alcatraz, is a primary job for progressives everywhere. It involves, of course, finding ways to explain to the people that the Sobell case is part of what immediately concerns them. This is not as easy as it was with regard to the Rosenbergs themselves, whose fate the people almost instinctively saw to be linked with their own. But in many countries ways are being found and good people are busy.

Here in London a mass meeting at Conway Hall has been set for Nov. 15, to bring the Sobell case more clearly into public focus. With the progressive Catholic lecturer and author Monica Whately and the noted Queen's Counsel D. N. Pritt, your editor-in-exile—who but lately occupied Julius's bunk in cell C-6 of New York's West St. jail—has been honored by an invitation to speak there under the chairmanship of the Rev. Stanley Evans, vicar of Holy Trinity Church in east-end Dalston. Recent British developments have been the salute by historian Arnold Toynbee to Harold Urey for his stand on the Sobell case, and the appeals by the Electrical, Railway and other big unions to Director of Prisons Bennett to move Sobell out of Alcatraz.

THE SONG UNSUNG: In Paris a great meeting was held in June, on the execution anniversary, to mobilize support for Sobell; and there were smaller meetings in many Paris districts and in other French cities. As for France's intellectuals, they continue to be profoundly gripped by the implications of the Rosenberg-Sobell case. Dominique de Santi includes Ethel Rosenberg in her new book **Visages de Femmes**, portraits of outstanding women in history. The leading publisher Gallimard has brought out an anthology of writing on the case by Sartre, Mauriac, Paul Villard and others including Helen Sobell's appeal to Eisenhower. It is titled **Le Chant Interrompu** (The Song Unsung) after a line in Ethel Rosenberg's poem written in jail, "If I Die."

The most unexpected report comes from Greece, a country which American progressives—like so many European progressives viewing America through over-simplifying glasses—have been too hasty to label completely fascist. The Rosenbergs' **Death House Letters** were published there, and the publisher was sentenced to jail on some obscure charge apparently related to "publishing false material." Last month the Court of Appeals reversed the conviction. (On the general situation in Greece, my informant says that although the Communst Party is still outlawed the Left coalition is very strong. Athens has a progressive daily paper of the same political complexion as the GUARDIAN, and a strong campaign is now being conducted for amnesty for the many political prisoners still languishing in jails and island concentration camps.)

ABOUT ATOMIC SECRETS: These and other world-wide activities in memory of the Rosenbergs, in defense of Sobell, are doubly significant when set against the background of the recent conferences at Geneva. There the fraternizing scientists of East and West proclaimed to humanity their agreement that there is and can be no atomic secrets and no country has or could have owed its progress in the field to "A-spies." On this level, as on others, the U. S. S. R. has indeed been taking the initiative in frankness to a degree the London **Times** finds "almost startling." Reports the **Times** (9/8):

> Papers read by Russian physicists and others at the Geneva conference on peaceful uses of atomic energy and their contribution to the exhibition have satisfied even the sceptical that the U. S. S. R. is not lagging behind in nuclear development. This was also the case at the Intl. Astronautical Fedn. meeting in Copenhagen [in] August. . . . Prof. Sedov, the Soviet delegate . . . and Prof. Nikolai Varvarov, chairman of the astronautics section of the Central Aviation Club, have implied that Russia is working on the establishment of a much larger artificial satellite than that to be launched by America."

If J. Edgar Hoover, Brownell & Co. have been hatching any plans to strike new fear into the people by framing up a "satellite-spy" case, they must think again.

POLITICS

Looks like a Demigop year: no issues, just big noise

WITH VIRTUALLY every index of public opinion showing a strong demand for an end to the cold war, Republicans and Democrats warmed up for the 1956 elections by vying to dispel the spirit of Geneva.

In Washington, a four-day "school of politics" for Republican state chairmen featured the slogan: "Everything's booming but the guns!" and a curriculum of the three "P's"—Peace, Prosperity and Patronage. But Republican "professors of politics" proved singularly reluctant to exploit the peace issue. Vice President Nixon emphatically told the 48 chairmen that foreign policy would not be an issue. Administration spokesmen continued the campaign, launched by President Eisenhower Aug. 28, against Geneva's optimism.

In the Democratic camp, especially in its "liberal" wing, even more strenuous efforts were made to revive cold war attitudes. "I, for one, never had expected an American President to plead with a third string Communist to please believe that the U. S. wanted peace," Adlai Stevenson told last month's Governors Conference. In **Look** magazine (9/5) he sounded the Democratic keynote in declaring that the President's "most serious failures" in office stem from international policies of "bluff and backdown."

ELECTION YEAR TAXES: N. Y.'s Governor Harriman, one of the chief original architects of the cold war, revived "liberation" preachments in an obvious attempt to prove himsellf a colder warrior than Stevenson. Former President Truman, in a series of so-called "give 'em hell" speeches, studiously ignored the peace issue. Earlier he had endorsed Rep. Thos. J. Dodd (D-Conn.) "liberation" resolution. An Administration move to effeect $1¾ billion "housekeeping" economy in the arms budget was strenuously opposed by Democratic Sens. Douglas (Ill.), Chavez (N. Mex.) and Stennis (Miss.). Their reason: in the present international situation any cut in arms spending would endanger national security.

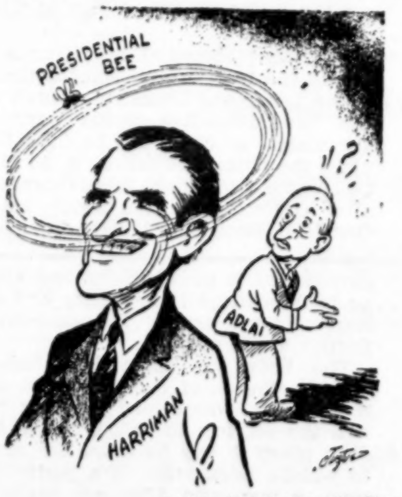
The "issue-hungry" Democrats were as determined as the Republicans, if not more so, to keep the peace issue out of the campaign. This essential bipartisanship extended to the home front—Democratic campaign oratory to the contrary—as the developing Democratic stand on taxes made clear. Most political commentators believe election year tax cuts are assured. But Democrats as well as Republicans have indicated that they will try to keep the cuts to the minimum necessary to satisfy campaign purposes. And Truman has come out against any tax cut, even if the budget should be balanced.

NO. 1 WORRY—FARMERS: Labor Day speeches indicated that the Democrats will center their fire on the Administration's big business ties, its give-away of national resources, weakening of federal regulatory commissions, failure to revise Taft-Hartley, clear slums, build low cost housing and, above all, its farm program.

GOP strategists concede that as of now their biggest worry is the farm vote. A further 2% drop in farm prices from mid-Juy to mid-August highlighted the tightening squeeze on farmers: prices for farm products have dropped 26% in the last four years while the farmer's cost of living has gone up 2%. Impact of farmer discontent is spurring both parties to woo the farm vote which could be crucial for Senate and gubernatorial races—and even the Presidency—in such farm-city states as New York, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Washington, Oregon and California.

Agriculture Secy. Benson, currently on a European mission to try to dispose of farm surpluses, has scheduled 13 speeches on farm policy before Jan. 1. The Administration is reported considering a plan to restrict farm output by leasing land from farmers in an effort to bolster sagging farm prices. The Democrats have set up a special farm advisory committee, headed by former Agriculture Secy. Wickard, to hold hearings, study farm problems, and advise the national committee on a desirable farm policy. The Senate Agriculture Committee, now headed by the Democrats, will hold grassroots hearings on the farm problem this fall.

LOOKS LIKE IKE: By and large, however, politicians of both parties were attempting to focus public interest not on issues but on the contests for candidacies. Republicans seemed to take it for granted that the President would run. The **Wall St. Journal** (9/9) said: "He's running like the dickens." For Republicans the only question apparently was the name of his running mate. The President reportedly favors Nixon but pressure to ditch Nixon is strong in some GOP circles.



Justus in Minneapolis Star

SPEAKING OF SATELLITES!

U. S. News (9/9) noted that the Vice President has "powerful" critics within the party who believe he has alienated the independent and labor vote and is too closely identified with the McCarthy wing. His home state organization (California) regards him "as virtually an outsider." Nixon's backers are now trying desperately to "liberalize" him and make him appear a serious statesman. His chief rivals of the moment are the head of the U. S.'s UN delegation, Henry Cabot Lodge, and the President's adviser on peace and disarmament, Harold Stassen.

AVE IS PANTING: On the Democratic side, the hopefuls, have declared themselves for Stevenson, who has promised to reveal his intentions by November and presumably has the inside track. But many Democrats, including some from the South, are not enthusiastic about another Stevenson campaign and reportedly lean to Harriman. "Available Ave," as newsmen have dubbed him, is running hard. He recently toured Israel, Ireland and had an audience with the Pope. The men around him in Albany, the WSJ pointed out (8/30), are veterans with

> ". . . a long background of Washington experience, and though few of them would brazenly proclaim it, they are not men who would willingly end their careers in the placid backwaters of state politics."

Harriman has also signified his intentions by slapping at the ADA, opposing federal rationing of Salk polio vaccine, and parroting the Cardinal Spellman line in foreign policy.

UNREAL QUALITY: Harriman's backers see their chance in the fact that Sen. Estes Kefauver (Tenn.) is expected to enter his name in early state primaries (despite his professed loyalty to Stevenson). Should he defeat Stevenson in these tests—as he did other Democrats in 1952—he might make it impossible for Stevenson to win the nomination at Chicago. This, according to the Harriman camp, could start a stampede to their man, since Kefauver is not popular with the machine bosses.

These preliminary maneuvers looking to 1956, had an unreal character, however, despite the buildup. Walter Lippmann wrote (9/8): "As the saying goes in politics, you can't beat a horse with no horse." While the Eisenhower-Dulles record is not above criticism, conceded, the Democrats have by their silence and support

> ". . . forfeited the chance . . . to take issue with the President. . . . As the Democrats do not criticize the result, as they did not at the time oppose the method, they have as the opposition party no issue. They have no record of their own to oppose to the Eisenhower record."

LABOR

Behind the dock strike: regimenters menace labor

By Elmer Bendiner

ON AUGUST 22 the N. J.-N. Y. Waterfront Commission ruled that longshoremen John (Mickey) McLoughlin could not work in the port. McLoughlin had a criminal record going back 29 years. He had no personal following or great influence in the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn., but the dockers saw in the Commission's power to say who would or would not work a declaration of all-out war to break the union. The men walked off the piers and tied up the port for three days.

They went back only when ILA president Capt. William Bradley promised that unless the Commission relaxed its stranglehold, he would be "down on the piers and lead you."

BUFFER REBUFFED: The weeks that followed saw feverish top-level diplomacy. Bradley went over the heads of the Waterfront Commissioners to Govs. Harriman of N. Y. and Meyner of N. J. It was plain that the ILA was ready to compromise. On the Citizen's Union **Searchlight** program (WRCA-TV) Bradley said:

> "I think we can hold the men. But we have got to offer them something. The men are open to any fair solution."

Thomas Gleason, ILA general organizer, was resigned:

> "We know that we can't get rid of the [bi-state] compact or the commission."

For a day Bradley and Gleason felt they had made progress: Harriman's counsel, Daniel Gutman, proposed a "buffer committee" to ease the contact between the union and the commission. The "buffer's" functions were left vague but the idea seemed to recognize the obvious: that something more than the Commission was needed. ILA leaders announced immediate acceptance of the plan, then saw it collapse.

THE WALK-OFF: The N. Y. Shipowners Assn. said it would have nothing to do with any maneuver "against the law or a government agency charged with the responsibility of administering that law." Harriman slapped Gutman down, said he would do nothing to impair the commission's authority.

At 8 a.m. on Sept. 8, the dockers walked off their jobs to consider further action. As the meeting at Pier 56, Hudson River got under way, three agents of the commission stood by.

WHO'S SORRY NOW? The commission's agents were asked to leave; they refused. Bradley told the dockers:

> "Go home, men. There will be no work on the piers until we can have a private meeting."

As the men filed out, they bitterly asked the agents:

> "It's our bread and butter. Why don't you leave us alone?"

Later the Commission's exec. director Samuel M. Lane apologized, called the snooping "stupid" and without orders from him. One agent told reporters he had been assigned there by the Commission.

THIS IS THE PORT OF NEW YORK ON A BUSY DAY

Last week the winches were idle and the hooks at rest

STATE OF CONFUSION: For five days the stoppage tied up the port while ILA leaders strove for a compromise solution. They indicated that word from Harriman and Meyner that they would confer would be enough. Both refused. The Commission laid down stiff surrender terms. The N. Y. Supreme Court and N. J. Superior Court ordered the men back to work by 4 p.m. Monday, Sept. 12. The N. Y. Shipping Assn. asked for a permanent injunction against strikes for the 2-year period of its contract with the ILA and threatened to sue the union for $10 million in damages.

On Sept. 11, Marshall Miller, consultant to the Legislature's Joint Committee on Labor and Industry, assured the ILA the committee would hear its grievances on Sept. 27. At 7:50 that night the strike was called off. At 11:50 Committee Chairman John Ostrander, after conferring with Assembly leader Oswald D. Hook, said Miller had spoken out of turn, the ILA would not be heard.

BREAKING POINT: On Monday morning, Sept. 12, only the Brooklyn docks, where "Tough Tony" Anastasia grinds his own axe in rivalry with Bradley, were working. That afternoon Manhattan dockers persuaded Brooklyn to come out again, ILA leaders made the walkout official and called a general strike from Nova Scotia to the Gulf of Mexico. In a telegram to Harriman, Bradley said the Waterfront Commission

> ". . . represents every evil feature of the star chamber and legal oppression of the workingman. . . . We have been continuously harassed, baited, interrogated, interfered with, opposed, slandered, deceived and resisted by the commission, and, very frankly, the breaking point of human endurance has been reached. . . ."

Faced with a new threat of contempt of court action, Bradley sad he didn't relish going to jail but the time had come to "stand up and be counted." The strike was clearly a bid for intervention by the federal government to give the union a hearing denied them by state agencies. The union wired Democratic Sens. Murray (Mont.), Hill (Ala.), Smathers (Fla.), Kilgore and Neely (W. Va.) urging them to set up a fact-finding board.

THE BACKGROUND: Behind the outbreak is the Waterfront Commission itself, which has made the N.Y. Port a proving ground for one of the government's deadliest experiments in labor regimentation.

The commission has made no bones about trying to break the ILA. In the strike of last spring it brought in 3,000 strikebreakers. After the strike was won, it registered the scabs as longshoremen and kept them working. In a variety of ways it has intervened to help the discredited AFL raiders.

Taking advantage of a clause in the law requiring every longshoreman to work eight days in each of the last six months, it has disqualified 7,000 longshoremen. Most of these are veteran union men who have been laid off for 30 days or more by a pier's closing or some other mischance beyond their control. Another 6,500 are said to be on their way to disqualification.

"EVERY VOTE COUNTS": At the same time new men are being registered in far greater numbers than the port can employ. Stanley Levey in the **N. Y. Times** (9/4) pointed out that the **AFL** lost last year's election by 150 votes and commented on the Commission's disqualifications:

> "Men are important on the docks. . . . The AFL has maintained a skeleton organization in the port, but not until a year from now will it be free legally to resume the battle for recognition. Every vote counts."

The Commission, which was supposed to outlaw the racket-breeding shape-up, has merely moved it off the docks and into government-controlled hiring halls which rob the union of its rights and powers. It can and does screen union militants as well as criminals.

It has fingerprinted workers, announced that their ILA activities would be used against them, turned loose a troop of ex-FBI agents to question them in their homes, kept them off the piers by subpenaing them into courts, penalized men for mass picketing in last year's strike. It has set a pattern which other industries watch for possible adaptation.

THE KING-PINS: The Commission has done its union-busting under the guise of racket-busting. It has been careful to use a longshoreman with a criminal record to trigger off port explosions, as in the case of Mickey McLoughlin. Whenever a showdown nears the N. Y. dailies reveal that Albert Anastasia, an ex-lottery king named Vito Genevese, a former gangster named Eddie McGrath are still ILA powers. The Commission has touched few of the racket king-pins but uses them to justify every act of regimentation on the waterfront.

DOG AND FLEAS: On Sept. 4, John L. Lewis, gave his view on **Face the Nation** over CBS-TV. Asked why he supported "a crime-ridden union like the longshoremen," Lewis said:

> "For 69 years the Longshoremen had been an honored affiliate of the AFL, and it wasn't until a rather large organization in the AFL decided that they wanted the union destroyed, so that they could extend their organization to the waterfronts of the nation, that the executive council of the AFL decided that the Longshoremen were not respectable and they couldn't any longer associate with them, and with that I disagreed. . . . I think that if there were any individuals in that organization that were not respectable, that other steps could have been taken.
>
> "I don't believe in shooting the dog to remove half a dozen fleas."

Lynching story

(Continued from Page 1)

they have to fight!"

AN END TO IT: The casket was opened. A woman peered and fainted. A young man clenched his fists and gritted his teeth. But his rage broke through in sobs. It set off a chain reaction of weeping and angry cries. Mrs. Bradley, finally in complete control of herself, stepped to the sidewalk, at the entrance, and began speaking as the crowds pressed in.

> "See for yourselves what they might do to your son. It could happen to any Negro boy. See for yourselves and make up your minds to put an end to it. This isn't just for Emmett, because he can't be helped any more; but if what we see here will teach us a lesson it will be safer for other boys."

She told them she wasn't bitter against white people, many of whom she knew to be helping her. She hated the lynchers and wanted the Federal government to punish them. She would go to Mississippi if necessary and she hoped many among her new-found friends would go.

The body was removed to Roberts Temple Church of God in Christ, 4021 S. State St., where loud speakers carried the services to 50,000. People told each other it was no crime for a boy to whistle admiration of a pretty woman. A man said, "My son might do it, or yours." Bishop Ford's sermon, booming up and down the street, silenced the crowd:

> "For as much as ye have done unto one of these, my little ones, ye have done unto me."

A woman's shrieking inside the church echoed through the block.

AGITATION: Leflore County (Miss.) Atty. John Frasier Jr. protested this "outside agitation," which had brought action from Illinois Gov. William Stratton, Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.). The governor directed Atty. Gen. Latham Castle to ask Mississippi Gov. Hugh White for "a detailed report of the full investigation into Emmett's death." Sen. Douglas wired that he was "shocked and horrified" and requested that "everything possible be done to bring those responsible for this heinous crime to justice."

Bryant and Milam were arrested by Leflore County sheriff George Smith, and indicted almost immediately. Gov. White reassured the NAACP, acting for the murdered boy's family, that Mississippi did not "condone" the lynching. Miss. Atty. Gen. and Gov.-Elect Coleman Sept. 10 appointed former FBI agent Robert B. Smith 3d special prosecutor in the trial and set it for Sept. 19. Tallahatchie County Dist. Atty. Chatham has invited Mrs. Bradley to attend, assuring her of "protection."

PRESS PROTESTS: The Negro press and pulpit are unanimous in condemning the lynching. Among white newspapers the **N. Y. Times** (9/7) declared the fact that a grand jury "made up of white men [indicted] other white men for a crime against a Negro" indicated "progress" in race relations. The **N. Y. Herald Tribune** (9/3) said:

> "The white supremacists in Mississippi are quick to say that this murder on the Tallahatchie cannot rightly be blamed on their resistance to desegregation. Of course they do not condone even the approximation of lynching, but it is hard to see how calculated inflammation—politically and economically—can fail to feed the fires. . . . We hope there will be swift prosecution to maintain law against the forces of darkness and to deter any other would-be lynchers."

Mississippi's Nobel-Prize novelist William Faulkner said in Rome:

> "Perhaps we will find out now whether we are to survive or not. Perhaps the purpose of this sorry and tragic error committed in my native Mississippi by two white adults on an afflicted Negro child is to prove to us whether or not we deserve to survive. Because if we in America have reached the point in our desperate culture when we must murder children, no matter for what reason, or what color, we don't deserve to survive, and probably won't."

READERS WRITE ON TABITHA PETRAN ARTICLES

'The facts about the American economy'

IN FIVE ARTICLES in the GUARDIAN during August, under the general heading "The Facts About the American Economy," Tabitha Petran presented the factors leading toward economic breakdown in the capitalist world and warned of the "mythology," shared by some Left political-economic theorists, that an "anti-depression" program can control the "boom-or-bust" business cycle so as to avoid or delay a depression.

Recognizing as "common sense" the need for a program to meet the people's needs, Miss Petran warned against building a progressive political program on the false premise that a depression can be averted by such means. By so doing, she stated, progressives will help foster an existing delusion instead of helping people understand "the implications of the reality they face."

Among such realities, Miss Petran pointed out that New Deal spending of $5 billion a year at the peak failed to halt the 1929 crash and ensuing depression (even though these efforts were attacked as "boondoggling" and "creeping socialism"); and that only the advent of World War II, with peak military spending of $88 billions (1944), saved the situation without change in the social system. Thus the economic implications of spending similar sums annually for people's needs in a new depression make it clear that the issue of socialism cannot be avoided. It will, instead, be the main cry of the attackers of such a program.

If progressives are to play a role in shaping the American response, they must work with people in all groupings and political parties, Miss Petran concluded, without undermining or liquidating independent organizations to work exclusively with one or another of the old parties. She restated the GUARDIAN's call of last Jan. 10 for the organization of "an independent political instrument . . . where people can work. . . . learn by experience and trial and error . . . keep the progressive banner aloft and do the necessary spadework for a mass third party."

Reprinted herewith are some of the many comments the GUARDIAN has received on Miss Petran's series. Further comments will be printed in future issues. All views are invited.

No easy way

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Congratulations on your excellent series, "The Facts About the American Economy." This is what I call vitalizing discussion. If it serves no other purpose it will at least alert our progressive leadership against the rash of "public spending" proposals which half-baked politicial demagogues are offering the American people as the easy way of preventing depressions.

Of course, there is no easy way out. Public spending proposals which are based on taxation of the poor (the lower income groups) cannot increase total wealth production and consumption. In the EPIC campaign in California in 1935 Upton Sinclair put it simply: there is no social gain in "redistributing poverty."

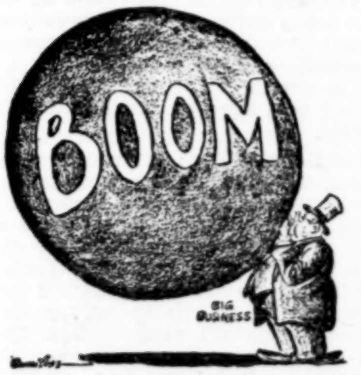
All this does not mean (and I am sure Tabitha Petran would agree) that public spending based on taxation of the rich (increasing social appropriation of the super incomes of the nation) will not strengthen the going economy and result in more secure and better living for all of us.

I think we are going to be ruthlessly eclectic about it in the U.S.A. I think we are going to "abolish capitalism" in spots (and begin before long) in order to vitalize the existing economy. And the label "socialist" isn't going to scare us in the least. We shall have to hack away at the "profit take" of our economic rulers—there is no other way out.

In this process we shall try to wipe out the illegal practices of Big Business in restricting and killing off free enterprise. We shall back to the uttermost organized labor's efforts to realize a steadily increasing share of the national income. We shall move to scrap the entire war economy (an area of criminal profiteering and political debauchery). And finally we shall demand the expansion of our domestic economy through the creation of new socially-planned and, at the base, socially-operated regional economies such as are encompassed in the Tennessee Valley Authority.

This latter objective brings us into head-on collision with the power trust and its financial allies who are not, of course, interested in "good business" (the widest and freest interchange of goods and services) but only in their monopoly grab.

Ahead lie coal and steel — like water power, at the base of the productive effort. Who draws the line against their nationalization when the time comes? And who sets the time?
Reuben W. Borough



The Louisville Courier-Journal
Hold It, Right There

Pleasure and satisfaction

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Believe me, what a pleasure and satisfaction it was to read Miss Petran's series, because it's the truth. A person with such high intellect is very important to teach millions of people who don't understand the situation of today.
Alfonso Cuscuno

Stated aim, indispensible

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Ending her excellent series, even Petran stumbles a moment, under the still virulent power of the very fallacy she combats. Her organizational proposal contains a basic contradiction, impossible to a truly progressive political party at this late hour in the world.

Having explained for five weeks the inevitability and necessity of socialism for this most capitalist and unstable country, she says: "This does not mean that the independent (sic) political organization proposed should be committed to socialism in the U.S." Then what does independent mean?

However, she recovers from the relapse into "unity fever" and states with her usual clarity: "The issue of socialism cannot be avoided on any front on which progressives fight today." In a clincher she adds: "Any significant move to advance the interests of the people will be fought as socialism."

Thesis:

1. For a truly leading, truly preparing, progressive political party's unity and development, the stated aim of socialism in our own country is indispensable.
2. Areas for compromise within such a leading, but still popular-type and non-monolithic, party can be those of immediate program, objectives, allies and tactics.

Launch the honestly socialist-progressive party now.
Donald Stevens

What doctor ordered

CANTON, O.

T. Petran is great in her new economic series. Just my medicine.
Elmer Fish

Constructive criticism

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

Miss Petran takes issue with a view expressed in **Political Affairs** of recent date, and quotes from it as follows: ". . . if war or economic crisis is to be avoided, it is necessary to compel a major change in the policies of the Eisenhower Administration." The point at issue here between Miss Petran and **Political Affairs** is that in presenting the points for which the people should fight, there should be no reference to delaying (or averting indefinitely) an economic crisis.

While we do not have the opportunity of reading **Political Affairs**, on the basis of our past experience with the publication we do not believe its editors in any way subscribe to any theory of averting an economic crisis. (I might point out that in the late '20's such a point of view, referred to as "American Exceptionalism," was promulgated by Jay Lovestone, and was roundly trounced in full examination and discussion of the view.) But we do believe that people generally, and I emphatically include progressives, are more stimulated by the immediacy of any situation than by an extensive long-range program.

Normal reaction to Miss Petran's approach is bound to be that, if depression and war are just around the corner, and nothing I can do will avert them even temporarily, I might just as well quit fighting and get the business over with. And this certainly is real demoralization, and I insist, the signal for complete demobilization. When the editors of **Political Affairs** relate the fight for improved conditions to the possible delay of war and depression, they are realistically approaching the problem of spurring on the fight. We believe that what the progressive movement needs is to be cheered on with the possibility of success as a living reality held before them. The man who believes he is fighting a lost cause simply doesn't fight. But the man who tastes occasional victories is impelled to fight on.

Because, then, we believe Miss Petran's articles defeat what should be a major objective of the GUARDIAN—namely, encouraging and spurring on the fight for and of the people—we also believe that more harm than good is accomplished by their publication.

We hope that you will accept this in a spirit of constructive criticism and the knowledge that we will continue to look forward to receiving our GUARDIAN each week.
Names withheld

Beautiful

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Tabitha Petran's series is a beautiful analysis. This seriously should be considered for a GUARDIAN pamphlet on current affairs.
M. H. Baker

Sober, constructive

DETROIT, MICH.

I just finished the series, "The Facts About the American Economy." I was very much impressed with the very sober and constructive analysis and would very strongly recommend that you explore the possibilities of publishing these articles in pamphlet form for informing a larger clientele.
Ben Okshea

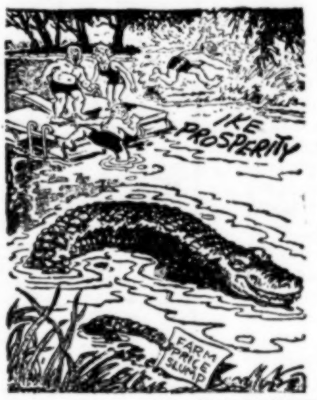
Struggle wins rights

BERKELEY, CALIF.

The Petran series on the economic picture is, in our experience here, by far the most popular feature that has appeared in the GUARDIAN in recent years. Everybody we have spoken to has read them with great interest; many are saving them, and some are passing them on as a series to friends who are not readers.

It has been our observation, and I think history bears out the view, that civil rights are established and restored or revived in the exercise of these rights in the course of the struggle of people for basic needs. Strikes become free speech fights, fights for the right to picket, for the right to access to the press, and in defense of leadership or militant members under attack. During economic crisis, the whole population moves to solve its problems and fulfill its needs; and repression, always attempted, meets tremendous resistance and has little success. Civil liberties are born and nurtured in turbulent times not because they are the principal issue of the period, but because the people must have them and the struggle generates them.

Therefore we feel that the economic crisis and its growing manifestations should be the burden of the GUARDIAN content, with civil rights an important secondary issue. Aspects of life today which constitute the main problems of the people—such as monopoly, juvenile delinquency, the destruction of public transportation, the tremendous problem of water for the Southwest, and to a lesser extent the whole country; the question of flood control, conservation, public power, and the march of private monopoly into the public domain—are issues that should be increasingly dealt with by the GUARDIAN.
Malvina Reynolds



The Detroit News
'Gator In The Old Swimming Hole

Elephant sees pink

SPOKANE, WASH.

The people of this country are becoming more than a little fed up with the repeated outcries of "Socialism" from the tories every time a constructive proposal is suggested to meet urgent needs.

Today the reactionaries are screaming "Socialism" against an adequate public housing program intended to eradicate slum evils from American cities, against a proposal to provide free anti-polio vaccine to all American children and against proposals now being considered by the House Ways and Means Committee to institute disability insurance to provide increased social security benefits to those who become permanently disabled, instead of making them wait until they are 65—if they can survive that long.

You don't see the tories branding as "socialistic" government subsidies to railroads, airlines or the merchant marine. Any such government actions for the private welfare of business are, in fact, applauded by the conservatives. It is only when public funds are to be spent for the general welfare of all the people that the GOP elephant sees pink and the Dixiecrat donkey starts bucking.
Louis Ponton

Whole ball of wax

DETROIT, MICH.

Sylvia Porter, in the Detroit **Free Press**, has an article on inflation. I am writing her telling her of the series of articles on the subject in the GUARDIAN and asking her to give her readers the whole "ball of wax" and not just hints of the fast developing world economic crisis. Will you have someone send her the Petran articles as a gift from me and I will pay for your trouble when I send in my next monthly sustaining fund contribution.
Samuel J. Garrett

Room for all

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I liked Miss Petran's articles, especially the last, "The Coming Bust and Independent Political Action." For myself, I have reworded the last part to read—"needed in short, to keep the progressive banner aloft and [be constantly available to] do [some of] the necessary spadework for a mass third party."

This more inclusive attitude is to keep in mind the potential new leadership that will come from new sources in the future and the contributions they too will make towards a third party.
David Seidman

Situation in Canada

TORONTO, CANADA

The problem you raise of the new "permanent prosperity" illusions arising in the Left, is one of direct concern to Canadian progressives. Here in Canada, the Labour Progressive Party has gone much further than U.S. circles in the formulation of a political program on a false premise that progressives can do the impossible: control the business cycle to delay depression.

Unfortunately the same freedom of debate does not exist here and there is little opportunity to suggest the dangers of this position. Thus your articles may well serve the very useful purpose of forcing Canadian progressives to take a second look at a policy adopted without serious preliminary discussion.

I am enclosing an article, "10 Points That Won't Beat the Threat of Depression," appearing in the March, 1954 issue of **National Affairs Monthly**, along with the policy statement it refers to, in the hope that it may be of some interest to you. To my knowledge, this article, written by myself, remains the only serious criticism raised before or since the new "perpetual prosperity" illusion became the "unanimous" official position of the Canadian progressive movement. While this article was admitted into the L.P.P. pre-convention discussion, it was never debated in terms of the serious arguments it raises. Unfortunately, my efforts to obtain answers to these questions have led to my expulsion from the Labour Progressive Party—a situation that I of course cannot rest content with and am still engaged in appealing.

Once more, I wish to express my enthusiasm for your excellent efforts to clarify a confused and vitally important aspect of progressive policy.
Joyce Clark

NEW YORK

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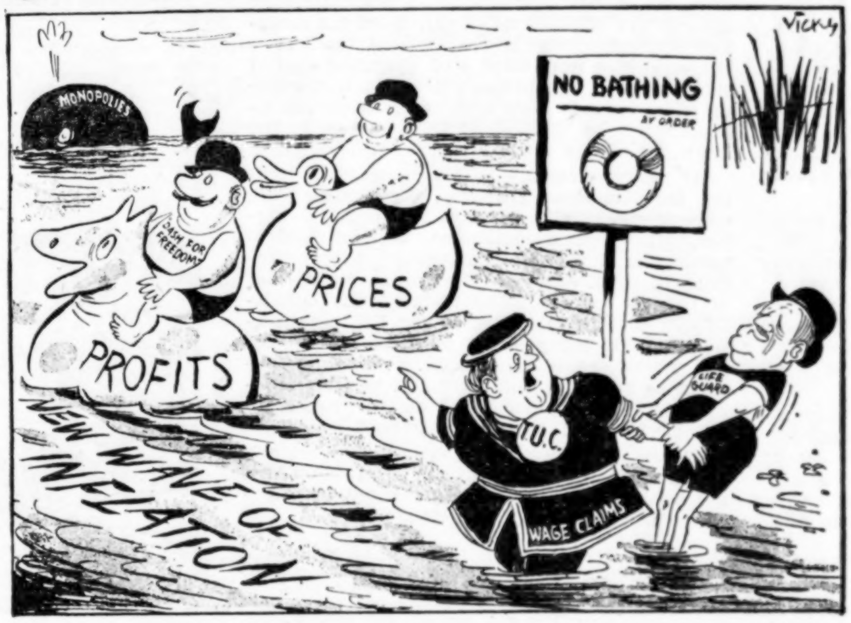
TUC CONFERENCE: THE ISSUES ARE CLEAR

The revolt against 'Butskellism' grows

By Gordon Schaffer

Special to the GUARDIAN

SOUTHPORT, ENGLAND



Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"Why pick on me, what about controlling THEM?"

THE BEHIND-THE-SCENES battle over wage policy and over the right of the Trades Union Congress General Council to intervene in strikes, which dominated this TUC annual conference, marks the revolt of the trade union movement against "Butskellism."

"Butskellism" is the term invented by the London **Economist** to describe the common economic policy of Tory Finance Minister Butler and his Labour predecessor, Gaitskell. Both accept the capitalist system and the task of making capitalist industry more productive and more efficient. Both agree that economies must be made at home in order to increase Britain's ability to compete with other capitalist powers for overseas markets. If Labour had won the last election, and Gaitskell were in Butler's job, he would by now have had appealed to the trade unions to accept a wage freeze. Like Sir Stafford Cripps in the first post-war Labour Government, he would no doubt have coupled this demand with an appeal to the employers to restrict payment of dividends; but, like Cripps, he would have been unable to back his appeal by compulsion.

CRIPPS AGAIN: Butler wants to do precisely that. The right-wing TUC leaders, who elected Gaitskell to the Labour Party Executive and who are pushing him to succeed Clement Attlee, would like to support Butler, but they know they cannot carry the movement with them. So they maneuvered to avoid committing themselves to support the wage demands of their own unions and sought the authorization of the Congress for a change in rules which would give them the right to take active steps to prevent strikes.

C. J. Geddes, TUC president, went as far as he dared in putting forward this policy. In his opening address he referred to the suggestion that wage demands are threatening the economic structure of the country, and added:

> "We have our own economic experts. I suggest that they should prepare an economic survey, and that this survey should be considered by a special conference of trade union executives with a view to formulating a national trade union economic policy."

That is exactly what Cripps did when he imposed his wage freeze. The fundamental fact is that the Government and the TUC rely on the same economists—and therefore reach the same broad conclusions. In practice the TUC leaders have accepted the AFL philosophy that their task is to make capitalism work, and to get what share they can of the spoils.

WHY OVERTIME: The dilemma that was brought into sharpest focus at Southport is that Britain's workers are not getting their share. The Government's own statistics show that while profits have been rising in most sections of industry, while vast tax-free gains have been reaped on the stock exchange during the boom, millions of workers have found that their wages have not kept pace with the rising cost of living. They are forced to work overtime to maintain their families.

This is happening even as British trade unionists, like their American counterparts, are demanding action to protect them from being displaced by automation. Moreover, the Government has cut installment purchases and raised interest rates on borrowed money in moves to curtail consumption at home. Most industries depend on the home market. Even those with a big export trade rely on home sales as well. Many trade unions see in these developments a threat to employment, and the industrialists have made no secret of their desire for a "pool of unemployed" as their best hope of "disciplining" the workers.

DOUBLE-TALKERS: These are the reasons the unions are putting forward wage demands. The very leaders who would like to halt the wage drive are being forced to put in wage demands on behalf of their members. That is why there is so much double-talk here, so many violent attacks on the Government by right-wing leaders. They want the government to do something to save them from having to join in the struggle. For one thing is quite clear: the word has gone out to the employers and the state-owned industries that there must be no yielding to the coming wave of wage demands.

The capitalists of the western world are back to the oldest game of all. They are competing feverishly in the world markets, and each set of capitalists is seeking to cut its prices at the expense of its workers. This fact gave special importance at Southport to three resolutions urging greater trade union unity. The shipbuilders union sought a joint meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the Intl. Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The miners asked for discussions to secure the utmost solidarity among workers of all countries. Another resolution was for discussions with Soviet trade unions.

COLD WAR PRELUDE: The break-up of the WFTU by the British and American trade union leaders was a prelude to the cold war. Inevitably, with the improvement in the world situation, British unionists would seek a return to their tradition of international solidarity. But the TUC leadership has been vigorously resisting such a move.

Southport left many of these problems unsolved, but it is clarifying the questions confronting the British working class.

TUC action

THE TUC conference voted the following actions, reported after receipt of Gordon Schaffer's dispatch:

- Gave the TUC General Council more power to intervene in labor disputes before negotiations have broken down. This is regarded as giving the Council power to prevent militant strikes.
- Rejected a move to put the TUC firmly on record as opposing any form of "wage restraint." This is a victory for "Butskellism."
- Defeated a resolution calling for "a drastic reduction of systematic and excessive overtime and a vigorous campaign to achieve the 40-hour week." The work week in most industries is 44 hours.
- Defeated a Natl. Union of Mineworkers resolution calling for "discussions with appropriate organizations with a view to securing the utmost solidarity of the workers of all countries." TUC Gen. Secy. Sir Vincent Tewson saw in it a move to bring together the Anglo-U.S.-led Confedn. of Free Trade Unions and the World Fedn. of Trade Unions, embracing most unions in the rest of the world.

Once again bloc voting, which gives extraordinary strength to the conservative-led unions, carried the day for the TUC leadership; but the bitter debate gave evidence of growing rank-and-file restlessness.

WHERE IS THE PROTEST?

'Atrocities worthy of the SS'— French reprisals in N. Africa

In the outbreak of violence in Algeria on Aug. 20-21 it was officially reported that 60 Europeans were killed and 50 wounded. While some of the killings were acts of terrorists which can never be condoned, others resulted from repeated provocation and the exploding feelings of an oppressed colonial people living in abysmal poverty, isolated from the lush plenty of their oppressors.

The press in the U. S. has been quick to condemn the Algerians and the Moroccans for their part in the bloodshed; but there has been silence or barest detail on the role of the colonists and the French troops. In its Sept. 3 issue, the London New Statesman and Nation *broke through this press curtain in an article from its Paris correspondent, part of which is reprinted below.*

THE SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT of **Le Monde** writes:

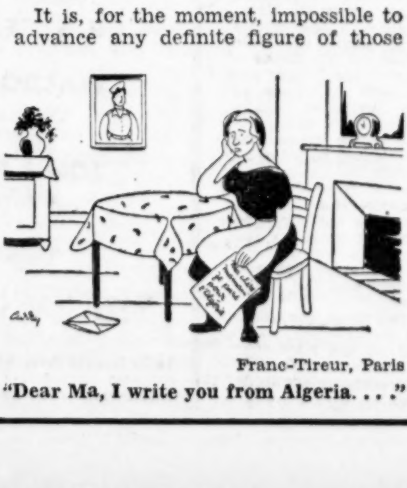
> "At a village I visited three miles from Philippeville (Algeria), fifty old men, women and children had been killed. All the able-bodied men had fled into the hills the night before. I have never seen a more pitiful spectacle than the one I witnessed after the French troops had left. Walking through the blackened and smoking streets, I was greeted only by the howling of dogs—the sole survivors of the massacre."

Even official sources have been unable to maintain a complete curtain of secrecy. Thus, Radio-Alger announced last week the destruction of the Arab villages, which it described as "nerve-centers of the rebellion." It added that the Arab women and children had previously been evacuated. Whether this last statement is to be believed is doubtful: the next day, **L'Humanite** was seized for revealing that a number of villages had been bombed **without** warning and without evacuations, and its statement was confirmed by a photograph of thousands of corpses which had been collected in the Municipal Stadium at Philippeville. . . .

WHERE ARE THE MEN? Information about Morocco is scarcer since journalists were forbidden to accompany the Foreign Legion in its operations in the Oued-Zem area. Nevertheless, according to a **Reuter** dispatch:

> "Out of the 12,000 inhabitants of this region, only 8,000 are left. The others have been killed, imprisoned or have fled to the mountains . . . numerous villages have been razed to the ground for having sheltered rebels or killed or wounded legionaries."

It is, for the moment, impossible to advance any definite figure of those killed in this area. Moroccan Nationalist sources claim that 30,000 were massacred in the Oued-Zem-Khenifre area alone; while the **official** figure for those killed in Algeria is as high as 5,000. It appears in any case to be true that in entire regions, all the male Arabs have been killed or have fled to the hills—presumably to join the terrorist bands. . . . In Morocco, where correspondents were invited last week to watch the official ceremony of the surrender of the rebel tribes, it was noticed that most of those who assembled, holding the traditional white chiffon scarf of surrender, were women and children. . . .



Franc-Tireur, Paris

"Dear Ma, I write you from Algeria. . . ."

So far, none of the accounts of atrocities published in the French press has been denied by the Government. It has not been necessary. Indeed, the Right-wing press has been publishing such dispatches as if they were the communiques of a victorious army. . . .

FRANCE IS REMOTE: And the French public? True, there have been a few protests, even on the Right. But the great majority of Frenchmen have followed this week's events in North Africa with strange indifference, as if they were remote and unimportant. Yet the grim tragedy which is now being enacted in North Africa is something infinitely more important than the chronic crisis of French political life. It throws into sharp relief the role France plays in the world, and the reputation of Frenchmen as a civilized nation. Already in Asia France's prestige has trickled away in the mud of Indo-China. Soon, in many other countries, the question will be asked: How can one of the world's most civilized nations allow its Government to perpetrate atrocities worthy only of the Waffen S.S.? The French will find it difficult to reply "We didn't know about them." For they have only to read their own newspapers.

NINETY DAYS FROM JULY 27

This is Austria—as the foreign troops depart

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the GUARDIAN

VIENNA

ON WEDNESDAY, JULY 27, at 11 a.m., the Austrian State Treaty became effective. The last documents of ratification had been deposited in Moscow; the last session of the Allied Control Council had been held in Vienna, with one item on the agenda: the dissolution of the Council itself. After seven years of Nazi tyranny and ten years of Allied occupation, Austria was sovereign, independent and neutral. Within 90 days of this historic date, the last foreign troops are to quit Austrian soil.

Austria is now crisscrossed with troop and freight trains going east and west. Troop transports leave the large stations almost daily in Vienna, Salzburg, Baden, Innsbruck. But there is a difference between the "clearing" of Lower Austria and the Western parts of the new republic. The Soviet troops leave practically no traces; they built no barracks and they leave no military installations, no fortifications. The exodus from Western Austria, especially from the American zone and the Tyrol, presents an entirely different picture.

U. S. LEAVE ITS MARK: For the past ten years, the U. S. command has attempted to transform Austria into an impregnable fortress—*Alpenfestung Oesterreich*. In their plans the country was to serve not only as a military stronghold, but as a possible route of retreat from Western Germany in case of war, and as a definite bridge between NATO forces in Germany and in Italy.

The fact that the Americans are abandoning the *Alpenfestung* today is of high significance; it constitutes the first instance of giving up a military stronghold on foreign soil. Enormous munitions depots are being liquidated; part are carried into Western Germany and Italy, part are exploded on the spot. Barbed wire fences are being pulled down, but much will remain to remind Austrians of their recent American guests: there are 300 blocks of military barracks at the outskirts of Salzburg; there are military quarters for 25,000 soldiers near Siezenheim; there are underground storage tanks for gasoline; there are hundreds of military work-shops and runways for aircraft. And the Americans are not going home. They are going to new quarters in Italy and Western Germany.

THE GIRLS GO TOO: With them go the "Ami-girls"—the unofficial prostitutes (*Geheimprostitution*), many of whom have, for a decade now, lived off the U. S. occupation forces. Few of them will find it easy to re-enter the life of their own society; often they are shunned by their fellow-citizens. Some have never known any other way of making a living.

Vienna still expects an influx of thousands of these "Ami-girls" who, the police believe, will try to find new boy-friends among the tourists. There have been nearly 50,000 touring Americans in Vienna since the beginning of the year. Throwing thousands of girls into jails seems no way out, but neither the Government nor any social agency has yet taken any steps to rehabilitate these women. Many of the "Ami-girls" have found their own temporary solution; like the *Marketenderin* of the Thirty Years' War, they have decided to follow the soldiers —mainly into Bavaria, for the Italian police are not too fond of foreign girls with doubtful reputations.

CHANGING SHIRTS: However, not all Americans are leaving Austria. The Central Intelligence Agency will remain; the employes of the U. S. Information Center have not been given notice. The Consulate, it appears, will receive additional staff and many "new" American organizations are now establishing themselves here. The large blocks of apartments for U. S. officers in and about Salzburg, which were to be turned over to the population at the end of the occupation, are now to remain in American hands. The same is true in other parts of the American zone where, according to an Army spokesman, these apartments will be used as "recreation and tourist centers." Thus the Army is branching out into the hotel business or, as the Social Attache at the U. S .Embassy declared recently:

> "We are not really leaving Austria—we are merely changing our shirts."

THIS ONE STAYED BEHIND
An "Ami-Girl" says goodbye to a GI

That many of them are not leaving became clear from a recent incident. Two jeeps and three U. S. Army trucks appeared late one Saturday night last month at a deserted lake in the Salzkammergut. When they left next day the local population discovered that a large number of small arms, anti-tank grenades and dynamite had been buried in a nearby forest. Austrians wonder how many more such "burial-places" there may be all over the country.

THE OIL GAME: But there are higher stakes than apartment houses and caches for small arms. Main topic discussed here today is whether Austria will be able to maintain her economic as well as her military neutrality. Much will depend on the fate of controlled enterprises which the Soviets have now handed over to Austria. Secretary of State Bock of the Ministry of Finance says they 'constitute a most valuable asset for the Austrian economy" but adds that they are "to be sold as fast as possible, as far as they do not fall under the law for nationalization. Many offers of purchase have already reached us."

Foremost among these "valuable assets" are Austria's newly-developed oil reserves which, according to Dr. Karl Friedl, Austria's leading oil geologist, could easily supply Vienna with oil for the next 200 years. The "offers of purchase" have come from across the Atlantic, and Henry Roger Arnold, director of Socony Vacuum, New York, has been negotiating in Vienna since late July. The ministry for nationalized enterprises has appointed Paul Prandstetter as director general and public trustee of the Austrian oil industry. Prandstetter is a member of the board of Socony Vacuum, New York, and its Austrian subsidiary, Vacuum-Oil-Company A. G. Socony Vacuum was nationalized in 1946 but by a secret agreement between John Foster Dulles and the Austrian Government it is to be restored to its American owners. Moreover, the U. S. oil negotiators here have their eye on the Lobau refinery, largest and most modern in the country. The refinery has long been nationalized, but its public trustee, Otto Griffa, also happens to be a member of the board of Socony Vacuum.

WHAT KIND OF ARMY? No final decision on the sale of Austria's oil resources can be made except by Parliament which, in its coming session, will also have to decide what type of army the country is to have. There is much opposition here to a regular army with a permanent officer corps which is bound to be reactionary. Progressive circles advocate a type of people's militia on the Swiss model. **Die Oestereichische Furche,** Austria's leading Roman Catholic weekly, opposes any kind of professional army "on the German model" and demands that former officers "who have committed treason against Austria during the Nazi occupation" be forever excluded from the new army. **Die Furche** strenuously objects to American armament credits:

> "If the new army were to be armed and equipped thanks to a unilateral credit by one foreign power in the form of military aid, our neutrality would be gravely threatened. . . . [An army] armed and equipped by America can only be regarded as a camouflaged part of NATO."

Thus Catholics and progressives alike realize that the way to permanent neutrality will not be easy. Austria must yet find her Wilhelm Tell.

THE LONE STAR COLOR LINE

All the oil in Texas can't cover up the jim-crowing of India's ambassador

INDIAN AMBASSADOR to the U. S. Gaganvihari L. Mehta and his secretary B. A. Rajagopalan would not have been insulted at the Houston, Tex., international airport restaurant last month if it weren't a standard practice there. The apologies are all in now and the incident is "closed"—to all but U. S. Negro citizens. In refusing to serve Mr. Mehta in the airport's main dining room, writes Baltimore **Afro-American**'s Samuel Hoskins, the restaurant was carrying out its policy of "consistently" refusing to serve "colored persons." The **Afro** editorially called the airport restaurant's policy one of "studied insults to [native born] colored people" and interpreted Houston's apology to Mr. Mehta as saying in effect:

> "So sorry! We mean to be rude and discourteous only to Negro citizens."

NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins charged in a wire to the Civil Aeronautics Authority that airport officials "flagrantly violated the terms of the contract under which the airport was built." The terms read:

> 'The sponsor agrees that it will operate the airport for the use and benefit of the public on fair and reasonable terms and without unjust discrimination."

Referring to stories quoting restaurant supervisor Mrs. Mary Alley as saying that she knew who Mr. Mehta was and only meant to honor him when she led him to a small "private" room, Mr. Wilkins pointed out that

> ". . . officers responsible for this incident [had earlier] admitted . . . that had the Ambassador and his guest refused to comply with the request to leave the dining room he would have been arrested."

Mr. Mehta and Mr. Rajagopalan were enroute to Mexico City. Questioned there later, the Ambassador said:

> "This woman came over to our table and said to us, 'Would you mind going into the private dining room?' We got up and followed her there. I thought for a minute that it might have something to do with color, but my secretary disagreed and I was inclined to see the matter his way. He said he thought we were moved into the small dining room for VIP treatment; that it was reserved as a special dining room for visiting diplomats. If I had suspected that color was involved, we would have left the dining room."

Houston officials and the State Dept. were quick with regrets. Houston's Mayor Roy Hoffheinz wired Mr. Mehta:

> "On behalf of every citizen of Houston, please accept my apology for any discourtesy shown you and your aide by one person during your stopover in Houston. We are proud that Houstonians do not discriminate against anyone of any race. May I urge you to visit us on your return trip to Washington and if possible be my guest at my home for such time as you can spend with us."

The Pittsburgh **Courier** declared the telegram contained "utter fiction," because "Houstonians, like 99% of other white Texans, DO discriminate racially, have ALWAYS done so and show no desire or inclination to change."

POSTSCRIPT: Last week the **Associated Negro Press** reported from Houston:

> "When Ambassador Mehta arrived here en route back to Washington from Mexico City, he was met at the airport by a large delegation headed by Mayor Hofheinz and consisting of several civic leaders. Hofheinz and British Consul Gen. Alec Adams invited Mehta and his secretary to be their guests at lunch in the airport restaurant, the Horizon House, but the ambassador politely declined the invitation."

AMBASSADOR MEHTA
How to lose your appetite

SPOTLIGHT ON GOVERNMENT SECURITY PROGRAM

Reform unlikely in witch-hunt climate

TWO PRIVATELY-UNDERTAKEN examinations and a Senate inquiry this month began an airing of the government's loyalty program. But the mildew odor was certain to remain as long as the Attorney General's subversive list and repression remain the order of the day.

A Senate subcommittee inquiry headed by Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D-S. C.), prodded by ADA counsel Joseph Rauh Jr. and Will Maslow of the American Jewish Congress, put a few glaring injustices before the public—including that of a veteran who lost a civilian Navy job because his parents were Progressive Party members.

"CURES" OFFERED: The only remedies before the subcommittee were those "reluctantly" proposed by Abraham Chasanow, Navy employe dismissed and then reinstated after 22 years of service. Being tagged in a security case, Chasanow said, was "worse than a charge of murder." He said charges should be made only on the "clearest of justification"; suspensions and dismissals made only as a final resort; accused should receive judicial trials with government legal aid; the program should be administered by an independent agency; and lying informers should be prosecuted.

Two private studies of the "security" program were financed by the Fund for the Republic, 60 E. 42d St., N. Y. C., operating on a $15,000,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. One, conducted under the Fund's direction by Washington attorney Adam Yarmolinsky and a committee of lawyers, reported on 50 cases out of 300 examined in 14 cities.

NO SOLUTIONS: Entitled "Case Studies in Personnel Security," the Yarmolinsky report deals with victims in government, industry, shipping, international organizations and amongst military personnel. It is distributed by the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., Washington, D. C.

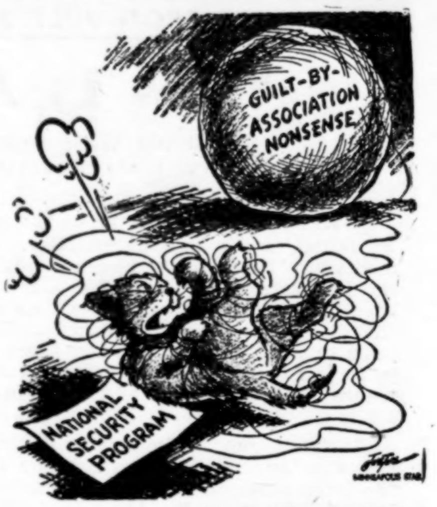
A Workers Defense Leaguue (112 E. 19th St., N. Y. C.) study called "The Draftee and Internal Security" has been prepared by Rowland Watts, Baltimore attorney, with a Fund for the Republic grant-in-aid.

THE CHARGES: Both studies reveal a quagmire of baseless charges from undisclosed sources and "derogatory information" going far beyond the Attorney General's list or the stated intent of any of the repressive laws. The Watts report surveys 110 "loyalty" cases in the armed services and states that "each allegation, like a count in an indictment, should be capable of standing alone."

These are some of the allegations for which servicemen have paid a heavy price:

- Membership or association with the Progressive Party, the American Labor Party, the California Independent Progressive Party, the Missouri Progressive Party, Young Progressives of America (YPA), the Urban League, and many civil rights groups.
- Subscribing to the Four Continents Book Corp., the **Monthly Review, New Challenge, Labor Action, The Militant,** the **Daily Worker** and the **People's World.** (One victim was charged with reading **The Reporter;** the security board had confused the current publication with a defunct newsletter once published by a Soviet friendship group.)
- Derogatory associations included mothers (in 11 cases), fathers (in ten cases), grandparents, step-parents, wives, husbands, brothers, sisters, and all manner of in-laws.

In one case a Catholic inductee in the Army, son of a prominent Catholic lawyer who has defended Communists in legal proceedings, was given an undesirable discharge and physically ousted from an Army camp while his father was flying to the scene with a restraining order from a federal judge. This case is now before a Court of Appeals.



Justus in Minneapolis Star

Kitten with ball of yarn

In another case, the accused was given an undesirable discharge, flown by helicopter to another Army base and then escorted off the reservation.

The Yarmolinsky report contains the following highlights:

- A government employe was charged with receiving mail with Russian stamps (reported by his local postmaster).
- A Government Printing Office proof-reader was charged with questioning a figure of a U. S. S. R. contribution to a UN budget as being smaller than the figure he had read in the public press.
- A $6,000-a-year defense employe faced the charge that his transfer from another agency was requested by an individual who had written a book advertised in a Louis Adamic publication; said Adamic having been an official of the Progressive Party. Also, the name of Robert E. Sherwood (playwright who wrote many of President Roosevelt's speeches) appeared among references in the case.
- A Navy stenographer was fired for having been a member of Sweethearts of Servicemen.

ECLC reports victory in Staebler case

THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE received word Sept. 6 of victory in the case of James M. Staebler, aided by the ECLC in a fight on Army security procedures. Staebler, a draftee, was confronted in Aug., 1954, with "derogatory information" consisting of charges that he had "definite Communist tendencies"; had invoked the Fifth Amendment in answering an Army induction questionnaire; and that both he and his wife had been members of the Socialist Workers Party, listed as subversive by the Attorney General. He had the choice of accepting a dishonorable discharge, answering the "derogatory information" charges in writing; or submitting to a hearing.

Under ECLC advice he chose the hearing before an Army Field Board on Nov. 1, 1954. On Dec. 14 he received an "undesirable" discharge.

ECLC appealed the case to the Army District Review Board, which held a hearing July 7, 1955. On Sept. 6 Staebler and ECLC attorneys Leonard Boudin and Victor Rabinowitz received notice that the "undesirable" discharge had been changed to "discharge under honorable conditions."

THE FIGHT DOES IT: The Rowland Watts report, "The Draftee and Internal Security" (see above), states that honorable discharges in security cases have been virtually prohibited since 1954. On Feb. 15, 1955, the Army announced a policy of discharges "under honorable conditions" in cases ordinarily warranting honorable discharges except for security questions. However, the report indicates that this policy has been honored more in the breach than observance, except when a fight is put up such as ECLC waged for Staebler.

AS THE SCHOOLS OPEN

Nation is short 138,000 teachers; N.Y. State kids get raw deal

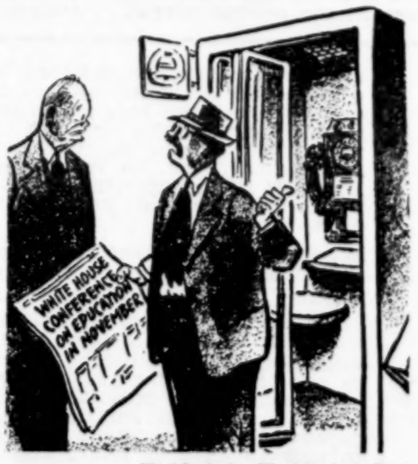
WHEN SCHOOL LET OUT last June the N. Y. High School Principals Assn. warned:

> "The opening of school in the fall fills us with misgivings and apprehensions. . . . The new budget, we fear, has dealt us and our children more than our fair share of vexation and frustration."

When school opened last week the vexation was nationwide. Enrollment was up by more than 1,600,000 and the country was short some 138,000 teachers. Of those teaching 91,000 could not meet professional standards. Although 60,000 new class-rooms were built last year, about half a million children will have to go on half-day schedule for lack of space. Thousands more will try to learn in basements, converted Army barracks, libraries, fire houses and churches.

NEW YORK SITUATION: In New York State the teacher shortage was critical. In the last academic year one out of every three new licenses was issued to a teacher who failed to meet professional standards. Outside of New York City and Buffalo one tenth of the teaching staff is "sub-standard." Even with the lowering of qualifications, the state faces a shortage of 8,483 teachers, New York City, 1,384.

The State's new Commissioner of Education, Dr. James E. Allen Jr., computing the grim statistics that the 5,000 sub-standard teachers will be training 150,000 children, said:


WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION IN NOVEMBER

Herblock in Washington Post

"How about holding it here to simulate school conditions?"

> "That is too many children to cheat out of a first-rate education. . . . The critical problem is to induce more capable young people to prepare for teaching. . . . Not only must teachers be proud to be teachers but capable young people must be made to believe that teaching is a noble, satisfying profession and that its members need not apologize for the career they have chosen."

THE BEST ONES GO: As Dr. Allen sought to inspire more teachers the N. Y. C. Board of Education was planning to open the new semester by suspending a school principal and four teachers who refused to turn informer. **Teacher News** (9/10), organ of the Teachers Union, said the Board was "busying itself with the task of driving out of the schools teachers with long records of superior service to the children."

Last March 17, despite widespread protest, the Board passed a resolution requiring teachers to inform on others or be fired. During the summer Dr. Allen's predecessor, Dr. Lewis A. Wilson, ruled that teachers could be required to answer questions about their own politics but added:

> "In my opinion a Board of Education is without power to require a teacher to answer questions relating to possible knowledge of other persons who may have been associated with the Communist Party."

LOW PAY AN ISSUE: Despite this the Board on Aug. 25 directed Supt. of Schools William Jansen to suspend the six who refused to inform. One of them, Harry Adler, a teacher at Gompers H. S., appealed to Dr. Allen for himself and others "similarly situated." The Commissioner granted stays for all but three days before school opened Dr. Jansen suspended Samuel S. Cohen, principal of P. S. 103, and teachers Minerva T. Feinstein, Julius Nash and Irving Maurer. Teachers Union legislative rep. Rose Russell called Jansen's action a defiance of the Commissioner, said there would have been no charges against the five if they had turned informers.

Prospective teachers were dismayed also by continued low pay. The Teachers Union calculated last week that, as of last July 1, a teacher's standard of living was far below that of 1939. A high school teacher's purchasing power, for example, had been cut by 22.4% to 36.5%.

Next July N. Y. C. teachers are to get a raise of $150 a year ($250 for those with a master's degree). This will mean a schedule of $3,900 to $7,200 ($400 more for a master's). The Teachers Union and other organizations have long demanded a schedule of $4,500 to $9,000, with $500 more for a master's.

"DAMAGING EFFECTS": On Aug. 27 the N. Y. State Educational Conference Board, representing the state's leading parents' and civic organizations concerned with education, blasted Albany policies in a public report:

> "The state's failure to take adequate steps to keep its educational finance laws in line with economic changes during the last half dozen years has forced upon the schools a retrenchment. This has already had damaging effects which will not be washed out for decades. The Board believes that the deterioration of the quality of many of our schools is such as to cry for the earliest possible action. The Board believes that a practical assessment of the needs by the leadership of the state and the Heald Commission [advisory body to the Governor, headed by Dr. T. Heald, Chancellor of New York University] would lead to the calling of a special session of the Legislature to take action, so that the schools will not be handicapped through another year."

The Conference Board asked that state aid to schools be boosted by $100,000,000 a year, half of which would go to New York City. The Teachers Union, seconding the motion, called for an active campaign directed toward the Heald Commission before it reports to Gov. Harriman in November.

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

now maintains the agreement no longer holds and has begun an intensive campaign to obtain for the Philippines the seat sought by Poland.

This decision was said to have been taken at the highest level and could only be designed to rekindle East-West bitterness at the Assembly's 10th session, which opens Sept. 20. (UN observers saw no expectation of China's admission to the UN this year despite agreements reached in the U.S.-China talks at Geneva on repatriating nationals.)

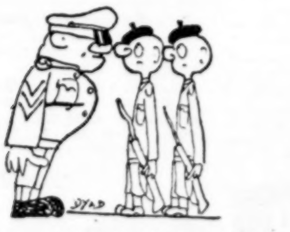
ADENAUER IN MOSCOW: A measure of how far the Western alliance has fallen short of one of its chief stated objectives—the annexation of E. Germany by force or threat of force—was provided by W. German Chancellor Adenauer's mission to Moscow.

The Soviet-W. German talks, termed here "perhaps a turning point in the future of Europe," were watched uneasily in Western capitals. The **Wall St. Journal** (9/7) called them "something of a blow to U.S. policy." It pointed out that the U.S. "premise" of achieving German unity by strength

> ". . . looks increasingly dubious . . . [and as unity is delayed] the ability of the U.S. to control the direction of German policy will diminish."

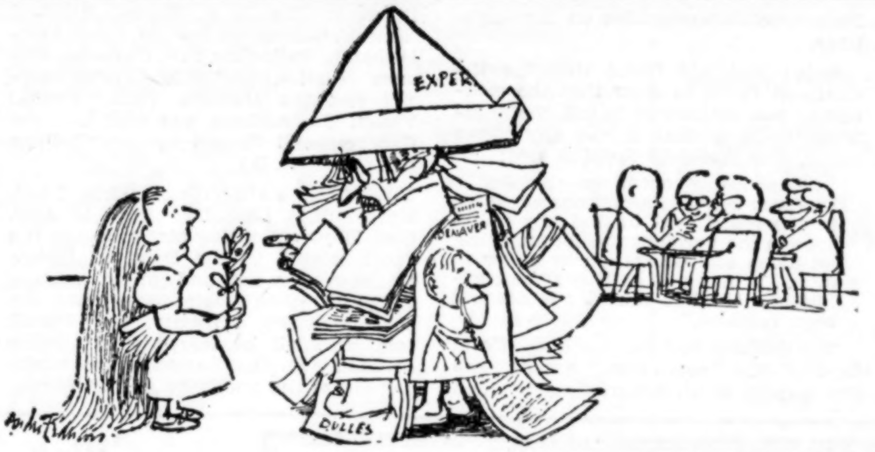
The cornerstone of Washington's European policy has been the division of Germany and the buildup of its western half as a bridgehead against E. Europe. But with W. Germany still to be rearmed, in the present state of world affairs the buildup becomes increasingly difficult. The West has not abandoned this policy; this is clear in the fact that the welter of "security plans" it proposes to offer the U.S.S.R., at the October Foreign Ministers meeting, are all based on a rearmed, united Germany in NATO. The West's aim, as the **N. Y. Times** admitted (9/11), is not agreement—"it is not expected that Russia will yield"—but

> ". . . to show the W. Germans that lack of progress on unification is due not to free world indifference but to Soviet intransigence."



Drawing by Dyad, London

"You heard!—No discussion on disarmament."



Francois in Tribune des Nations, Paris

". . . The gentleman dressed in white paper whispered, 'Never mind what they all say, my dear, but take a return-ticket every time the train stops.'"—From Lewis Carroll's Through the Looking Glass.

RUMORS AN ACTION: Yet some misgivings about German policy may be developing at official levels. Rumor has it that Adenauer was greeted somewhat less than enthusiastically last summer by the President, who is said not wholly to trust the Germans. Perhaps significant in this connection was Roscoe Drummond's blast (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** 9/7) against former Nazi Field Marshal Kesselring's statements in **U. S. News,** (9/2). Kesselring's remarks differed little from similar statements by former Nazis which were given wide U.S. circulation in the tensest cold war years. Drummond called his statements

> ". . . the most pernicious, purposeful, massively misleading, pro-war, pro-Nazi innocence propaganda . . . [without] an honorable word in it. . . ."

But the rumored misgivings were not apparent in Western actions. And Adenauer, who has staked his all on Washington's policy, faced this dilemma in Moscow: to satisfy W. German public opinion his mission must appear a contribution to relaxed tensions and German unity; but his own future depends on continuance of the cold war and Germany's division. This dilemma lay behind his conduct in Moscow which, although lauded in the U.S. press, served chiefly to underline the strength of the U.S.S.R.'s German policy.

E. GERMANY IS REAL: To the U.S.S.R., diplomatic relations with Bonn would be an important step in widening the areas of peace. But if Adenauer attached conditions, the U.S.S.R., as Bulganin said, "can wait." Pressures in W. Germany, however, may not permit Adenauer to hesitate too long. Washington and Adenauer pledge eternal refusal to recognize the E. German government but, as Joseph C. Harsch pointed out (**CSM,** 9/8), "in one sense he [Adenauer] has accepted its existence by going to the Soviet capital." And Adenauer met a blunt Soviet refusal even to discuss the return of war prisoners without the presence of E. German representatives. Some of the Bonn mission were already reported (**NYT,** 9/12) as willing to join E. Germany in such talks—an indication of how the pressures of reality are likely to implement the U.S.S.R.'s policy of step-by-step moves to achieve German unity.

If you reach 10 . . .

A brilliant, silent, eerie light, like nothing you have seen before, marks the beginning of an atomic blast.

If you sense such a flash, duck, fall flat, or jump behind some projection. . . . Out in the open you have a better chance if you fall flat. And a still better one if you could duck behind a ravine, behind a projection of some building, if there is time. . . . One atomic scientist specialist gives this advice:

"If you see or sense that intense light, duck and count to ten. If you reach ten, you have survived. You can then check to see whether you have suffered any injuries."

—Associated Press

The real significance of the Soviet-W. German talks will lie largely in W. German reaction. Peace is as popular in W. Germany as anywhere else and the West, which has no policy for the peaceful reunification of Germany, may have difficulty persuading W. Germans that unity is being blocked by the U.S.S.R., which does have such a policy.

UNEASY FRANCE: In W. Europe, moreover, there is growing support for the U.S.S.R.'s proposed all-Europe security system, which would dissolve rival military blocs. The **NYT** (9/12) reported U. S. diplomats worried by the mounting appeal of this plan in France. Divisions within the Western alliance contribute to this sentiment. France fears U.S. intervention in behalf of nationalists in N. Africa, which is considered by the U.S. "one of the main aviation platforms from which the U. S. Strategic Air Force dominates Moscow and much of the rest of the Soviet Union" (**NYHT,** 9/11). The U.S.'s protege, Franco Spain, is intriguing against France from Spanish Morocco. And the basic problems of Africa will remain to rip apart whatever settlement the French government is able to patch up.

At the other end of the Mediterranean, NATO is torn—and the Balkan alliance threatened—by the Greek-Turkish-British disagreement over Cyprus, Britain's chief base in the Middle East, a majority of whose 500,000 people (400,000 of Greek, 100,000 of Turkish origin) want union with Greece.

EPIDEMIC PROPORTIONS: The bitterness between Greece and Turkey has led to demands in leading Greek newspapers for that country's withdrawal from NATO; to a Greek government boycott of Balkan-Alliance talks with Turkey (it had earlier refused to join in such maneuvers with Britain). Anglo-American rivalries are also involved in Cyprus—itself only one aspect of the growing Western difficulties in the Middle East.

Pointing to "an epidemic of revolutionary movements," some overt, some latent, in Latin America, Asia and Africa, Walter Lippmann (8/16) urged the West to rethink some of its ideas. In the world of the "great upheaval" of peoples and nations, Washington's policies appeared more and more outdated.

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TOO "FAR-REACHING"

Govt. will appeal decision on Lamont

CONGRESSIONAL inquisitors were thrown into confusion last July 27 when Federal District Judge Edward Weinfeld tossed out contempt indictments against author-lecturer Corliss Lamont, engineer Albert Shadowitz and lawyer Abraham Unger. All had claimed the protection of the First Amendment in refusing to answer questions about political matters put to them by Sen. McCarthy when he headed the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

Judge Weinfeld found that the indictment failed to show that the committee was authorized to ask the questions it did or that it had any power at all. The Weinfeld decision said:

> "One vainly examines the Public Law and Senate Resolutions set forth in the indictment to find any reference to the Permanent Subcommittee, let alone any delegation of power to it. . . . It may well be that some resolution exists but thus far it has not been revealed."

The decision had far-reaching effects beyond the courtroom. Among the newspapers which editorially applauded it were: The N. Y. **Times**, Hartford **Times, Washington Post,** St. Louis **Post-Dispatch, Baltimore Sun, Christian Science Monitor,** Louisville **Courier-Journal** and the Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times.** The decision was read into the **Congressional Record** by Sen. William Langer (R-N. D.).

THE "BEST TALENT": On Aug. 2 Sen. Karl Mundt (R-S. D.) wrote to Atty. Gen. Brownell asking him to assign the "best talent" in the Dept. of Justice to draw up a new indictment meeting Judge Weinfeld's objections, citing the subcommittee's authority. Sen. Mundt told Brownell he feared the "adverse decision" in the Lamont case might jeopardize the authority and autonomy of the Senate investigating committee.

Observers expected the Dept. of Justice to try again with a new indictment. Last week the department filed an appeal against Weinfeld's ruling based on the original indictment. It offered no new authority for the subcommittee, presumably because its "best talent" could find none. The Lamont case was no longer a First Amendment test but a challenge to the whole witch-hunt. The N. Y. **Times** (9/8) said that

> ". . . it was admitted unofficially that the Government feared that Judge Weinfeld's far reaching decision, if allowed to go unchallenged, would set a precedent that might vitiate all the contempt proceedings initiated by the McCarthy subcommittee."

September 17-23 is Constitution Week, marking the 168th anniversary of the signing of the United States Constitution

★ The Bill of Rights ★

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Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. — Right to Bear Arms

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. — Quartering of Soldiers

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. — Search and Seizure

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. — Rights of Accused and Property

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. — Trial by Jury

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII. — Suits at Common Law

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII. — Bail and Punishment

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. — Rights Retained by People

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

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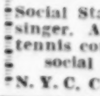

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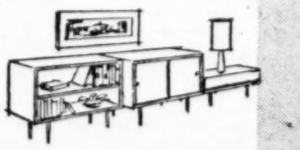
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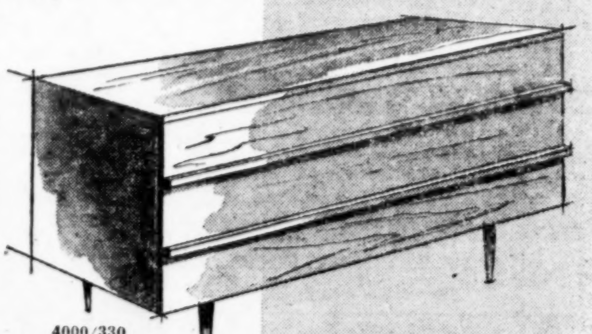
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the SPECTATOR

It's Him, O Lord

By David Wesley

(From The Gazette and Daily, York, Pa.)

THE PARADOX OF OUR TIME is that the more we boast about our freedom, the less we pursue it. Loyalty oaths do not necessarily abolish freedom, but they corrode the will to practice it. Freedom is the blooming flower of the human soul, and, like a flower, it cannot merely be planted; it must be nourished. That is to say, it must be lived.

Today, as the boundaries of knowledge and know-how are increasingly extended, the boundaries of living are becoming increasingly narrowed. We grasp at the accepted view, shy from the challenging, shrink from action. We travel more in space but less in the spirit. As life narrows, our culture disintegrates; art is reduced to colored blobs and the threat of human annihiliation replaces diplomacy. Both are manifestations of the drift, not to greater security and freedom, but to insecurity and dehumanization.

At such a time, the just-published autobiography of Rockwell Kent — painter, writer, illustrator, adventurer, critic, architect, builder and farmer — comes as an anomaly and an illumination.

ROCKWELL KENT

THE "COMPLETE" MAN: The Greeks had a word for Kent. The Renaissance would easily have recognized him. But, as reviewers of the book have already made clear, the type is almost unrecognizable today. He is the "complete" man; the man who combines art and action, the human spirit in free flight. In our modern world of specialists and "experts," in a world where the artist is so often an aesthete and the traveller a dilettante, Kent is a man for whom art and life are indivisible, for whom travel is a creative act and art a great adventure.

The life story of Rockwell Kent is a portrait of Western man as his inventors of long ago conceived him—not a man of extraordinary intellectual powers—this is a gift of God that may be individually bestowed any time anywhere—but a man for whom life is ceaselessly creative because mind and spirit are freed of every form of tyranny and orthodoxy. Kent is not only a Jeffersonian in philosophy but in action.

It is no surprise, then, that his 600-page autobiography is among the most stunning and stirring publishing ventures in a long time. With its profusion of drawings and its reproductions, some in color, of the author's paintings, the book is as lavish in visual delights as in its record of the incorruptible, soaring spirit of man.

HANDS AND HEART: Its title, announced in the lofty lettering of the artist, is **It's Me, O Lord** (from the spiritual "It's me, O Lord, standin' in the need of prayer.") From the Olympian height of 72 years, Rockwell Kent looks back on a life dedicated from youth to creative use of hands and heart. He built with those hands alone a half-dozen houses. He designed, in his initial breadwinning chore, many another structure. But he had to paint, and to paint he literally wandered to the ends of the earth —to Greenland, Alaska, Tierra del Fuego. Then he wrote much-applauded books about the wonderful people and remote places he saw. And wherever art could be used in the service of life, he learned and practiced it. He became a master of the woodcut and lithograph as well as the brush, and worked in everything from tableware to posters.

He fought for "realism" in art; his paintings and drawings are infused with a single theme—the beauty of the earth and the dignity of man.

JEFFERSONIAN SPIRIT: And he accompanied this with social and political action which, after bringing him respectful admiration for several decades, propelled him in our current day before two inquisitions. At the inquisitions he conducted himself as a Renaissance (or Jeffersonian) man would—with positiveness of belief and unbending spirit.

Kent's life bristled with action and purpose, so his pages naturally do, too. His very style, reflecting his vibrant nature, totally undiminished at 72 (his last words are "Let's get things done"), pulsates with warmth, joy, movement. A more telling and fascinating antidote to the deep freeze of freedom, reason and greatness that the cold war has settled upon us would be hard to imagine.

Most of us live in tight little compartments today. This is the story of life on the "outside"—life that has never been boxed in, physically or spiritually. There are shortcomings to such a life and its telling. But published in these bleak, irrational times, **It's Me, O Lord** leaves one with the impression that a man brimming with health and sanity has just breezed into an insane asylum.